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AN

APPEAL

TO THE

WORLD;

OR A

VINDICATION

OF THE

Town of BOSTON,

FROM

Many falſe and malicious Aſperſions

CONTAINED

In certain Letters and Memorials, written by Governor Bernard, General Gage, Commodore Hood, the Commiſſioners of the American Board of Cuſtoms, and others, and by them reſpectively tranſmitted to the Britiſh Miniſtry.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE TOWN.

BOSTON, Printed by EDES and GILL: And LONDON, Reprinted for J. ALMON, oppoſite Burlington-Houſe, in Piccadilly. 1770.

[Price One Shilling.]

AT a Meeting of the Town of BOSTON, *legally aſſembled, on Wedneſday October the 4th, and thence continued by Adjournment to Wedneſday October* 18, 1769.

THE following Remarks, upon the Letters written by Governor Bernard, and others, were ordered to be publiſhed; and the Committee were directed reſpectfully to tranſmit a printed Copy of the ſame to the following Gentlemen, viz. The Honorable Col. *Iſaac Barré*, Eſq; a Member of Parliament; His Excellency *Thomas Pownal*, Eſq; late Governor of this Province, and a Member of Parliament; *Benjamin Franklin*, Eſq; Doctor of Laws; *William Bollan*, Eſq; Agent for his Majeſty's Council of this Province; *Dennys De Berdt*, Eſq; Agent for the Houſe of Repreſentatives, and *Barlow Trecothick*, Eſq; Alderman of the City of LONDON, and a Member of Parliament.

Atteſt.

William Cooper, *Town-Clerk.*

Juſt Publiſhed,

(Being the PAPERS AT LENGTH referred to in THE APPEAL)

LETTERS to the EARL of HILLSBOROUGH from Governor BERNARD, General GAGE, Commodore HOOD, the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms at Boſton, and the Council of Maſſachuſett's Bay; containing their whole Correſpondence with the Miniſtry, from the beginning of January, 1768, to the end of July, 1769.

In two Parts, Price 5 s. 6 d. ſewed. Either Part may be had ſeparate.

Printed for J. ALMON, oppoſite Burlington-Houſe, in Piccadilly.

Of whom may be had,

A COLLECTION of the moſt ESTEEMED TRACTS, printed in England and America, on the Subjects of *Taxing* the American Colonies, and *Regulating* their Trade. In four Volumes, half-bound and lettered, Price 1 l. 4 s.

An APPEAL, &c.

THE town of Boſton having by the generous care of WILLIAM BOLLAN, Eſq; formerly a very worthy inhabitant in it, but now a reſident in London, received authentick copies of Letters, Memorials, &c. written by Governor Bernard, General Gage, Commodore Hood, the Commiſſioners of the American board of Cuſtoms and others, and laid before the Parliament; which contain many baſe inſinuations and virulent charges of an high nature againſt the town: the freeholders and inhabitants in a legal town meeting aſſembled for the purpoſe, have conſidered the ſame. As they have not yet been favoured with the particular vouchers, if indeed theſe gentlemen have produced any to the Miniſtry before whom they laid their accuſations, it cannot be expected they ſhould be enabled to make ſo full a vindication of the town as otherwiſe they might: they have however endeavoured to extract from theſe writings, ſo far as the town is concerned in them, and to lay before the public their true ſpirit: from whence it will appear how reſtleſs Governor Bernard and his aſſociates have been in their malicious intrigues to traduce not this town and pro-

vince, alone, but the whole Britiſh American Continent.

In his letter to the Earl of Shelburne, dated March 19th, 1768, he tells his Lordſhip, that "he ſees ſuch an oppoſition to the Commiſſioners and their officers, and ſuch a defiance to the authority by which they are appointed, continually growing, that he can no longer excuſe his informing his Lordſhip of the detail of facts, from whence the moſt dangerous conſequences are to be expected."——It is obſerveable here, how artfully he connects an oppoſition to the Commiſſioners with a defiance of the authority by which they are appointed; and this with an apparent deſign to repreſent this town as diſaffected to his Majeſty's Government in general, than which nothing can be more falſe and malicious. That the people ſhould entertain the higheſt diſguſt of a board, inſtituted to ſuperintend a revenue to be rais'd from them without their conſent, which was and ſtill is exacted with the utmoſt rigor, is natural; after they had ſo loudly as well as juſtly complained of the revenue itſelf, as depriving them of the very idea of liberty: but it cannot be ſaid with the leaſt appearance of truth that they ſet at defiance the King's authority, at the very time when they were actually yielding obedience to thoſe revenue laws, under all the hardſhips of them, and were patiently waiting for the happy iſſue of their juſt complaints,

complaints, and their humble petitions to their Sovereign for the redreſs of their grievances.—The Commiſſioners had however at that time ſurely no reaſonable grounds to expect any injury to their perſons or interruption in their office; for they had been more than four months in the town without the leaſt danger of this kind, although they had from their firſt arrival diſcovered ſuch an arrogance and inſolence of office, as led many perſons to apprehend, that they aimed at nothing leſs than provoking the people to ſuch a degree of intemperence as to make an appearance of it. But being diſappointed in this, mere ſhifts and pretenſions are to be ſought after; and accordingly we find Mr. Bernard beginning his "*detail*" to his Lordſhip, with telling him there had been "frequent *reports* of inſurrections intended, in which it *had been ſaid*, the houſes of one or more of the Commiſſioners were to be pulled down." The Governor, it is to be obſerved, relies much upon *reports* in his letters even to Miniſters of ſtate, while few if any among us ever heard of ſuch reports: he does not ſo much as attempt to make it appear to his Lordſhip that theſe frequent reports were brought to him by perſons of credit, or that they were well grounded; and it is very much to be queſtioned, whether he received his intelligence from any other perſons, but the Commiſſioners themſelves, their dependents and expectants, the number of whom

are encreaſed to an enormous degree, more than ſufficient to devour the whole revenue, and many of them are of the moſt abandoned characters.

But to give a colouring to theſe ideas of an inſurrection, there muſt be ſomething more alledged than barely that there had been frequent reports of its being intended; and therefore his Lordſhip is told of an event which in fact took place as ſome few remember, but the ſtory is wrought up by the Governor with all the ſtrokes of maſterly invention to ſerve the purpoſe. "A number of lads, " ſays he, paraded the town with a drum and horn." And what poſſible harm could there be in that? Why among other houſes "they paſſed by the Council-chamber when he was ſitting in Council:" and did they ſtop to inſult the Governor and Council? Such a circumſtance would doubtleſs have embelliſhed his Excellency's narrative. Their paſſing by however carried the air of an inſult, though in all likelihood the unlucky boys might not know that his Excellency was there.—But they had "aſſembled before Mr. Paxton's houſe," and leſt it ſhould be forgot, his Lordſhip is reminded that Mr. Paxton is "a *Commiſſioner.*" And did they do Mr. Paxton the *Commiſſioner* any injury? Yes truly "they huzza'd," and went off.—Then they "inveſted Mr. Burch's houſe," and his Lordſhip is alſo told, that Mr. Burch is

"*another*

" *another* Commiſſioner," and " his lady and children were obliged to go out of the back door to avoid the danger that was threatened;" ſo that they were not threatened with miſchief, but with danger only. It has been uſual for the Commiſſioners to affect an apprehenſion of danger to themſelves and their families, to ſerve the purpoſes they had in view. There is indeed no accounting for the real fears of women and children. The ladies however can ſometimes vie with their huſbands in intrigue, and are thoroughly verſed in the art even of *political* appearance. And it is ſaid that *all* are politicians in this country: whether this lady, whom Gov. Bernard has *politely* uſhered into the view of the public, *really* thought herſelf in danger or not, it is incumbent on him to ſhow that there were juſt grounds for her apprehenſions, that Mr. Burch's houſe was in fact " inveſted," and that " the moſt dangerous conſequences were to be expected." The world may be aſſured, there was not the leaſt appearance of this kind; and yet, theſe are Mr. Bernard's own declarations to his Majeſty's Miniſters, grounded upon vague and idle reports, beneath one of his rank and ſtation to take any notice of, and eſpecially with a deſign to miſrepreſent. He expreſſes a ſurprize, and ſurely he muſt counterfeit it, that this matter of " the parade with the drum and horn," was af-

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ter all treated as the diverſion of a few boys, as it is ſtill thought to have been by all who can remember ſo trifling an occurrence, except the Governor and his adherents—the diverſion of a few *innocent*, though perhaps vulgar boys, who neither did nor intended to do the leaſt harm to them or any other perſons, nor were they able to effect it, if they had ſuch a deſign. But after this, ſays Mr. Bernard, " it was *reported*, that *the inſurrection* was poſtponed till the 18th of March"—The idea is ſtill kept up of a *deſigned* inſurrection, how elſe could it be *poſtponed?* and " two perſons, ſays he, one of them Mr. Paxton, a *Commiſſioner*, were mentioned as devoted to the reſentment of the mob." It is ſtrange that no perſons ſhould have heard of all this but the Governor and his *informers*; for he tells his Lordſhip, that he " took all the pains he could to diſcover the truth of this report"; and " on the very day before, he ſpoke with the moſt knowing men he could procure", who had heard nothing about the matter. At length, however, " late in the evening, he had certain advice that effigies were prepared, but it was too late to do any thing, and—his information was of *that nature*, he could not make uſe of it *in public*." To induce his Lordſhip however to believe that the reports of *the inſurrection*, which was poſtponed to the 18th of March, with every circumſtance as juſt now related,

were

were well grounded, he tells him, as if it was deſigned to be the prelude to the whole, that " early in the morning the Sheriff informed him that the effigies of Mr. Paxton and Mr. Williams were in truth hanging upon liberty-tree" !—There was in the time of it, a ſtrong ſuſpicion in the minds of many, that theſe effigies were hung up by ſome *particular perſons* on that day (which was to be obſerved as a day of Feſtivity), with a deſign to give a colouring to juſt ſuch a repreſentation as Gov. Bernard now makes.—There are perſons here capable of playing ſuch a game; and there are ſome circumſtances which make it appear that ſuch a ſuſpicion was not groundleſs. Particularly it is difficult to account for Governor Bernard's neglecting to give orders to prevent their being hung up after he *certainly* knew it was intended; and that he ſhould pretend it was too late the evening before; but eſpecially, his not chuſing to make uſe of his information, or it may rather be ſuppoſed his informants name in public, unleſs it was through fear of diſcovering the plot, is dark and unaccountable—If there was a deſign of this nature, it muſt have been truly mortifying to thoſe who were in the ſecret, that the deſign was ſo ſoon fruſtrated: for before the Governor could meet his council, which he had *prudently* " the day before ſummoned to meet," and while he was " ſending round to get them

them together as ſoon as poſſible it might be; amidſt all theſe *careful* preparations, the effigies, ſays the Governor, " were taken down by ſome of *the neighbours* without oppoſition"! Their being thus, perhaps unexpectedly, taken down, is ſufficient to evince the good diſpoſition of the inhabitants in general: that *They* were not in the plan of an inſurrection, *whoever elſe might be*, and that the Governor therefore might with ſafety, *if he had been ſo inclined*, make uſe of his information in public.—It might poſſibly indeed have totally overthrown his deſign in writing this very letter to his Lordſhip.

But the beſt improvement is to be made of every appearance: accordingly the Governor haſtens to his Council, who were then met, agreeable to his appointment the *day before*, and there he tells his Lordſhip, he " ſet forth in ſtrong terms the atrociouſneſs of this inſult; the danger of its being followed by actual violence, and the neceſſity there was of *providing for the peace of the town*." However atrocious the inſult might be, where could be the danger of its being followed by actual violence, when ſome of the inhabitants themſelves had taken down the effigies, with at leaſt the tacit conſent of the whole community; for it was done without the oppoſition expected, perhaps *hoped for*: and what neceſſity of providing for the peace of the town, when the people already diſcovered ſo peaceable a diſpoſition. It would

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doubtleſs have pleaſed the Governor well, if his Council had adviſed to ſome *ſevere* meaſures; ſuch as might have afforded a firmer foundation for him to have repreſented the town as upon the eve of an inſurrection, than groundleſs reports or informations, from his own pimps, which it was not *prudent* for him to make uſe of in public. But "all he could ſay" to that purpoſe though he ſtrove hard for it, "made no impreſſion on the Council;" They, ſays he, "perſevered in treating the affair as of no conſequence," as well they might; for it is queſtionable after all, whether there was the leaſt apprehenſion then of any Commotion even in the mind of the Governor himſelf, whatever were his pretenſions. The Commiſſioners however took this opportunity "of ſetting forth the danger *they* apprehended;" and the Governor, very readily no doubt, took the occaſion to acquaint the King's Miniſter, that he had received a letter from the Commiſſioners, "*deſiring the protection of the Government*".

Mr. Bernard proceeds in his narrative, and entertains his Lordſhip with a very minute account of the celebration of the anniverſary of the repeal of the Stamp-Act; and "the terrible night it produced"—to Mr. Burch, *one of the Commiſſioners*, and his lady and children who had moved to his houſe for ſafety;—"to the lieutenant Governor and the Sheriff of the County who

were alſo with him;" and in fine to all "thoſe who thought themſelves objects of the popular *fury*." It may be here obſerved as in general true, that no man has reaſon to fear the popular fury, but he who is conſcious to himſelf of having done that which has expos'd him to their juſt reſentment — The Governor himſelf owns, that "the ſelectmen of the town" and "ſome others", and even the gentlemen who dined at two taverns near the town-houſe, upon the occaſion of the day, "took great pains that the feſtivity ſhould not produce a riot." There is no reaſon to ſuppoſe this was mentioned for the ſake of giving a credit to any of thoſe gentlemen, but rather to inſinuate that the people were ſo outrageouſly diſpoſed as that they could not be reſtrained even by their own *Leaders*; for moſt of thoſe whom the Governor has *honoured* with that character were preſent. The truth is, none of them were apprehenſive that *their* feſtivity would produce a riot; but they were careful to prevent the lighting a Bonfire, becauſe the Governor had conſtantly repreſented that as "the uſual ſignal for a mob;" and the joys of the evening among the lower ſort, which however innocent are ſometimes noiſy, would of courſe be repreſented as riotous. And thus he did in fact repreſent it to his Lordſhip; for he tells him, that "many hundreds of people of all kinds, ſexes, and ages, paraded

ded the ſtreets with yells and outcries"—— That they " inveſted Mr. Williams's houſe"——That " at two different times about midnight they made outcries about Mr. Paxton's houſe." And tho' after all, he owns it was " out of mere wantonneſs", yet he ſays the whole made it a terrible night." This is painting indeed, much beyond the life: but Mr. Bernard has the art in perfection. He could not however perſwade even General Gage, to give it ſuch a colouring; for the General in his letter to Lord Hillſborough, dated Boſton the 31ſt of October, 1768, tells his Lordſhip quite otherwiſe; and that " according to the beſt information he had been able to procure, the diſturbance in March (which was this very inſtance) far from being " terrible as the Governor repreſents it, was in truth " trifling." This being the account given by one of the principal ſervants of the Crown in America, and who has diſcovered himſelf far from being partial *in favour* of the town, it is needleſs to add any thing further on this head—*Trifling* as indeed this " diſturbance" was, ſuch improvements were made of it by Gov. Bernard and others, that it occaſioned the ordering two regiments from Halifax to this town, for a purpoſe for which the military power was certainly never deſigned; a very dangerous purpoſe, and abhorrent to the Britiſh conſtitution and the ſpirit of a free govern-

ment, namely to ſupport the civil authority—A meaſure which has cauſed continual terror to his Majeſty's peaceable ſubjects here, and has been productive of more diſturbance and confuſion than has been known in the memory of any now living, or than is recorded by any hiſtorian, even the moſt *partial* againſt this country.

We ſhall now take notice of Governor Bernard's letter to the Earl of Hillſborough, dated Boſton, June 11, 1768, wherein he gives his Lordſhip an account "of a great riot that happened in this town the preceding evening." And it muſt be confeſſed there was a riot on that evening, which is by no means to be juſtified. It was however far from being ſo great an one as the Governor repreſents it to be.—The collector and comptroller of the cuſtoms indeed repreſent it as a "numerous mob," but they being particularly intereſted, their fears might deceive them.——It was not a numerous mob; nor was it of long continuance, neither was there much miſchief done. It was occaſioned by the unprecedented and unlawful manner of ſeizing a veſſel by the collector and comptroller: and conſidering their illegal proceedings in making the ſeizure, attended with the moſt irritating circumſtances which occaſioned this mob—the intolerably haughty behaviour which the Commiſſioners who ordered this ſeizure, had conſtantly before

diſcovered

diſcovered towards the people—the frequent threats which had been given out, that the town ſhould be put under a military Government, and the *armed* force actually employed as a prelude to it, it cannot be wondered at, that in a populous town, ſuch high provocations, and the ſudden exertion of lawleſs power, ſhould excite the reſentment of ſome perſons beyond the bounds of reaſon, and carry them into exceſs.—We cannot ſtate the circumſtances of this affair with greater impartiality, than by reciting the ſentiments of his Majeſty's Council after two days enquiry and conſideration, in their own expreſſions, viz.

" HIS Excellency having laid before the Board a repreſentation of ſome tranſactions relating to, and in conſequence of the diſorders in the town of Boſton on the evening of the 10th of June laſt, the Board think it neceſſary *in juſtice to the town* and province, and in vindication of themſelves, to make ſome obſervations thereon, and to give a fuller repreſentation than is contained in the paper laid before the Board.

" With regard to the ſaid diſorders, it is to be obſerved that they were occaſioned by the making a ſeizure (in a manner unprecedented) in the town of Boſton on the ſaid 10th of June, a little before ſunſet, when a veſſel was ſeized by ſeveral of the officers of the cuſtoms; and immediately after, on a ſignal given by one of ſaid officers,

officers, in conſequence of a preconcerted plan, ſeveral armed boats from the Romney man of war took poſſeſſion of her, cut her faſts, and carried her from the wharf where ſhe lay, into the harbour, along ſide the Romney; which occaſioned a number of people to be collected, ſome of whom, from the violence and unprecedentedneſs of the procedure with regard to the taking away of the ſaid veſſel, and the reflection thereby implied upon the inhabitants of the town as diſpoſed to reſcue any ſeizure that might be made, took occaſion to inſult and abuſe the ſaid officers, and afterwards to break ſome of the windows of their dwelling-houſes, and to commit other diſorders. Now, though the Board have the utmoſt abhorrence of all ſuch diſorderly proceedings, and would by no means attempt to juſtify them, they are obliged to mention the occaſion of them, in order to ſhew, that however culpable the ſaid diſorderly perſons were, the officers who ſeized, or thoſe by whoſe orders ſuch unuſual and violent meaſures as were purſued in ſeizing and taking away the ſaid veſſel, were not faultleſs: it being highly probable that no ſuch diſorders would have been committed, if the veſſel had not been with an armed force, and with many circumſtances of inſult and threats, carried away from the wharf."

The Council further ſay, " with regard to what happened on the 10th of June, it ſeems

ſeems to have ſprung wholly from the perſons who complain of it, by the plan laid and the orders given for making the ſeizure aforeſaid, and carrying it away by an armed force. Which circumſtances, together with the time of day of ſeizing the veſſel, makes it ſeem probable, that an uproar was hoped for and intended to be occaſioned by the manner of proceeding in making the ſeizure."

From this impartial ſtate of the matter, it muſt evidently appear to every candid mind, that the oppoſition was made, not at all to the ſeizing of the veſſel by the officers of the cuſtoms, but wholly to the *manner* in which it was ſecured; and that if it had been done in the uſual manner, as the Council afterwards ſay, " it would have remained ſecure in the hands of the officers"— This correſponds with the Commiſſioners own account; for they ſay in their letter to Governor Bernard, June 12, that they received a verbal meſſage from the people to the following purpoſe, " that if the ſloop ſeized was bro't back to Mr. Hancock's wharf, upon ſecurity given to anſwer the proſecution, the town might be kept *quiet*." But this pacific propoſal, tho' brought to them as they acknowledge " by a perſon of credit," they expreſly declare " appeared to them as a *menace*," and it was in fact one of their very reaſons for requeſting the Governor to give directions

that

that they might be received into the caſtle for protection.—So totally regardleſs were they of the peace of the town, and ſo exceſſively fond of being thought by others as important as they fancied themſelves to be, that when this reaſonable and timely propoſal was brought to them even by a perſon of credit in *their own* eſteem, they haughtily replied, that " they gave no anſwers to *verbal* meſſages," which plainly indicated either a wantonneſs of power in them beyond all bounds, or the hopes if not the intentions of a further uproar.—

Governor Bernard tells his Lordſhip, that this riot " had very bad conſequences," which is undoubtedly true: the exaggerated accounts which he and the Commiſſioners gave of it to the Miniſtry, and their taking occaſion to repreſent the town itſelf as in a ſtate of diſobedience to all law and authority, and indeed the whole continent as ripe for a revolt, were attended with the worſt of conſequences to the town. The Commiſſioners ſay in plain terms, that " there had been a long and *extenſive* plan of reſiſtance to the authority of Great-Britain," and that " the ſeizure referred to " had haſtened the people of Boſton to the Commiſſion of actual violence ſooner than was intended." Such *inflammatory* repreſentations as theſe had the effects which they had long wiſhed-for; and induced the Miniſtry to order two other regiments to this town; the conſequence

of

of which, if they or any of them are continued, it is to be feared, far from reconciling the people to the preſent meaſures of adminiſtration, will only increaſe their diſcontent, and even alienate their affections.

The Governor in the poſtſcript to his letter, June 13, mentions his having intelligence from the Commiſſioners of ſome *particulars*, from whence *they concluded*, that they were immediately expoſed to further violences, and deſired protection at the caſtle.— this intelligence is contained in their letter of June 12, juſt now mentioned, wherein they take upon themſelves to charge the Government with having uſed no meaſures for ſecuring the peace of the town, alledging in general terms that "there was the ſtrongeſt reaſon to expect further violences". And they further ſay, that "his Excellency himſelf had acquainted them that *Boſton was no place of ſafety for them*". Here we ſee that the intelligence which the Governor repreſents to his Lordſhip as having been received by him from the Commiſſioners, he firſt communicated *to them*; and thereupon they grounded their pretended fears in their letter *to him*, and deſire the protection of the Government. This is all of a piece, and may ſerve to explain the *frequent rumours* of an inſurrection, mentioned in a former letter, and from what quarter theſe frequent rumours came. It ſhows the combination, and the

ſettled deſign, of the Governor and the Commiſſioners, to blacken the character of the town; and how dextrouſly they can play into each others hands— The Governor the next day, June 13, wrote to the Commiſſioners, and acquainted them, that "having communicated their letter of the 12th to the Council, they deſired him to inform them, that during the ſitting of the Council on ſaturday morning, there was no reaſon at all given to expect further violences, and that there was no apprehenſion either in *the Governor* or the Council of an immediate danger." It is incumbent on the Governor, or his friend, *if he has any*, to reconcile this with what he had before told the Commiſſioners, "that Boſton was no place of ſafety for them". It ſeems Gov. Bernard was perpetually teizing the Council with the Commiſſioners vague reports of an inſurrection, and of the danger they were in; and indeed it appears to be the main point in view to perſwade the Council if poſſible into a belief of it, or if not, to form a complaint to the Miniſtry, that they were negligent of their duty in not adviſing to proper meaſures for the protection of the Commiſſioners; and from thence to enforce a neceſſity of military force to reſtore and ſupport Government in Boſton— Why did he not lay before the Council the *particulars*, which he tells his Lordſhip he had received from the Commiſſioners, from whence

whence *they concluded* that they were expoſed to further violences? This we hear nothing of; perhaps the intelligence, like that which he mentions in a former letter, "was of ſuch a nature that he could not make uſe of it in publick." He indeed tells the Commiſſioners, that "he had informed the Council of their *preſent* apprehenſions of further violences, and that they were then taking the ſame into conſideration."— But he ſhould have fairly repreſented this matter to the Commiſſioners, and told them that the Council had *already* taken the ſame into conſideration, and come to a concluſion, as in fact they had; for by their own minutes we find, that "the matter being *fully debated*, it appeared to the Board, that there was no immediate danger of freſh diſturbances." They at the ſame time adviſed that the matter ſhould be laid before the General Court then ſitting, and poſtponed the conſideration of it by them, *as of Council to the Governor*, till the effect of ſuch a propoſal ſhould be known. All this the Governor knew; how then could he conſiſtently ſay that they were *then* taking it into conſideration. He tells Lord Hillſborough, that "he was againſt the buſineſs being laid before the General Court, but was obliged to give it up"; and that "he had many objections to the meaſure." He knew very well that the drawing this matter into open day-light, would

effectually defeat his design; and that the intention of bringing the Council, if possible, to join with the Governor in requiring the military force, or accusing them of negligence in case they did not, would thereby be entirely frustrated.—The removing the business to the General Court, he tells his Lordship, was however, upon *one consideration*, not "entirely to his dissatisfaction;" for he says, it was then in a great measure "taken out of his hands"; and he concludes, that "as he cannot conduct this business as it ought to be," or rather as he chose it should be, "it may be best for him to have but little hand in it."—It may not be amiss here to recite the declaration of his Majesty's Council at a full Board on the 29th of July, six weeks after the Commissioners *voluntary* exile to the castle, in consequence of these *pretended* apprehensions of further violences. The Council say, "the Commissioners were not obliged to quit the town; there never had been any insult offered to them; their quitting the town was a voluntary act of their own; we do not apprehend there was any sufficient ground for their quitting it; and, when they had quitted it, and were at the castle, there was no occasion for men of war to protect them." Such an authority, will, no doubt, be deemed sufficient to vindicate the town from this aspersion; especially, as the Council had then had time cooly to recol-

recollect the matter: as they had born their full teſtimony againſt the diſorders, and taken every ſtep which belonged to their department, to bring the offenders to condign puniſhment: but more eſpecially, as that very Board had always before ſupported the Governor's meaſures to the utmoſt extent that their conſciences would allow, and many times againſt the general ſentiments of the people, for which they had gained the Governor's applauſe, and his particular recommendations to his Majeſty's miniſter; and he himſelf could at this time have no other exception to any part of their conduct, but their oppoſition to his *favorite* plan, to introduce a military Government into the town, without the leaſt colour of neceſſity, and thereby to break thro' the mounds, and tear up the very foundation of the civil conſtitution.

The Governor in his letter to Lord Hillsborough of the 14th of June, being reſolved to give his Lordſhip an exact *detail* of every occurrence "from whence the moſt dangerous conſequences are to be expected," takes occaſion to mention "a paper ſtuck up on Liberty Tree," this paper, he had ſaid in his letter of the 13th, contained "an invitation of the ſons of liberty to meet at ſix o'clock to clear the land of the vermin which were come to devour them." A very innocent, if not a laudable propoſal, for which the country ſhould think itſelf

itſelf obliged to them, to be ſure, if they could have effected their deſign. But in this letter it is called " a violent and virulent invitation to *riſe that night* to clear the country of the Commiſſioners and their officers, to avenge themſelves of the Cuſtom-houſe officers, and put one of them to death?" And, ſtill more alarming, " there were alſo ſome indecent threats againſt the Governor!" Could the Governor think, that by the vermin that were come to devour the land, they meant his Excellency and the Commiſſioners? But perhaps the mind of the Sheriff who brought this information to the Governor, was ſomewhat agitated with the fears of an inſurrection; and moreover, we may preſume, that he had not ſeen the paper himſelf, but took it from *report*, in conformity to the example of the Governor, who believed, *or pretended to believe*, every word of it, till he had the *mortifying* ſight of the true contents of this *very important* paper; of which the following, as he himſelf at length tells his Lordſhip, is " an exact copy," viz. Boſton, June 13, 1768. The ſons of liberty requeſt all thoſe, who, in this time of oppreſſion and diſtraction, wiſh well to, and would promote the peace, good order and ſecurity of the Town and Province, to aſſemble at Liberty Hall, under Liberty Tree, on Tueſday, the 14th inſtant, at ten o'clock preciſely.——It might have been ſuppoſed that ſo harmleſs a thing would

have

have given offence to none. In the firſt place, the matters alledged in it were confeſſedly true: that this was a time of oppreſſion, the people all felt: that it was a time of diſtraction, the Governor and the Commiſſioners loudly proclaimed: a deſign then, at ſuch a time, to promote the peace, good order, and ſecurity of the town, was at leaſt unexceptionable. But the Governor complains, that "it was not conſidered as an implication of danger:" ſtrange would it have been indeed, if ſo ſalutary a propoſal as the promoting the peace, good order, and ſecurity of the town, had been thus conſidered. "Neither, ſays he, was the *impropriety* of the ſons of liberty appointing a meeting to ſecure the peace of the Town, when the Governor and Council were ſitting upon that buſineſs, *and ſeemly to little purpoſe*, taken much notice of." But ſurely, if the Governor and Council could be ſuppoſed to be ſitting upon *ſuch buſineſs*, at *ſuch a time*, *and ſeemingly to little purpoſe*, there could be no great impropriety in other peoples undertaking it. But without adopting by any means the meaſure, is not here a ſtriking inſtance of the diſpoſition of Governor Bernard, and ſome others, to receive with the greateſt avidity the moſt aggravated accounts of every trifling occurrence that has happened, and without any enquiry, to paint them to the Miniſtry in the deepeſt colours! Behold a meeting, the profeſſed deſign of

which

which was to promote the peace, good order, and ſecurity of the Town, and that in open day-light, repreſented to the King's Miniſter as a meeting deſigned to be held at ſix o'clock, near ſun-ſet, in one letter; and in another the next day, "a moſt violent and virulent invitation to *riſe that night!* and clear the country of the Commiſſioners,—— threaten the Governor, and commit murder!" In conſequence of which he tells the Council, there is "no time to enquire into the *particulars* of the former riot." They are to be hurried to meaſures to provide for the *peace of the Town*;" and to prevent "new diſturbances premeditated" and "immediately threatened;" and his Lordſhip is to be forthwith informed of it.—Certainly every candid perſon will from hence be inclined to believe all that Governor Bernard relates to the prejudice of this Town, or any particular perſons, with great diſcretion.

His letter of the 16th of June, for he ſeemed to be almoſt every day employed in writing his "detail" of *common reports*, gives the earl of Hillſborough an account of "the meeting at Liberty Tree, in purſuance of the printed notice." And, after entertaining his Lordſhip with a particular, tho' awkard and inconſiſtent deſcription of the Tree, the vaſt heighth of the flag-ſtaff, and the deſign of hoiſting the flag, namely, "for a ſignal," which to be ſure muſt be a diſcovery quite

new

new to his Lordſhip, he proceeds to ſay; that, "at leaſt 4000 men aſſembled," that "the principal gentlemen attended to engage the lower people to concur in meaſures for peace and quiet," which was the profeſſed end of their meeting—that "one of the ſelectmen was choſen moderator or chairman"—that "they adjourn'd to the Town Hall" for the accommodation of ſo large a number. And there it being "objected that they were not a legal meeting" they "adjourned to the afternoon," he ſhould have ſaid, broke up; and the ſelectmen inſtead of "legalizing the aſſembly," as it is oddly expreſſed, called a Town-meeting, agreeable to the directions of the law, to meet in the afternoon. All this was certainly an innocent proceeding, and the Governor himſelf, it is preſumed, did not think otherwiſe, for it happens for once, that he makes no particular remarks upon it; and if it ſhould be ſaid of them, that they met *ſeemingly to little purpoſe*, it might be ſaid truly enough; but it is to be remembered, that another aſſembly, with their chairman at their head, if the Governor's ludicrous account of the meeting of that very reſpectable body could be credited, might in that reſpect keep them in countenance.——But innocent as it was, the Governor did not chuſe it ſhould be thought that *he* viewed it in that light, and therefore told the Council, and his Lordſhip afterwards,

terwards, that " had it been the firſt buſineſs of the kind, he ſhould have aſked their advice, whether he ſhould not ſend to the General *for troops :*" and to ſhow his own exceſſive fondneſs for ſo arbitrary and violent a meaſure, he adds, that " he was ready to do it, if any *one* gentleman would propoſe it !"

The Governor then proceeds to give a *detail* of the meeting of the Town in the afternoon; in which he tells his Lordſhip, that " many wild and violent propoſals were made." It ought here to be obſerved, that Governor Bernard conſtantly repreſents bodies of men, even the moſt reſpectable, by propoſals made by individuals, which have been miſrepreſented by pimps and paraſites, and perhaps aggravated by himſelf, inſtead of allowing them to ſtand or fall by their own concluſions—Can any thing be more baſe, more contrary to equity than this ?—What ſhould we think of the moſt reſpectable corporations at home—what even of both Houſes of Parliament, if they were to be judged of by every motion that has been made, or every expreſſion that has dropped from individuals in the warmth of debates. If it had been true that ſuch propoſals were made, nay, if meaſures that could not have been altogether juſtified, had been even adopted by the Town, at a Time when every art had been practiſed to irritate the people, and inflame their minds, the candid

did part of mankind would have been ready to overlook it.—The Governor has often been obſerved to diſcover an averſion to free aſſemblies: no wonder then that he ſhould be ſo particularly diſguſted at a legal meeting of the town of Boſton, where a noble freedom of ſpeech is ever expected and maintained: an aſſembly, of which it may be juſtly ſaid, to borrow the language of the ancient Roman, with a little variation, *Sentire quæ volunt et quæ ſenticat dicere licet*, they think as they pleaſe, and ſpeak as they think.—— Such an aſſembly has ever been the dread—often the ſcourge of tyrants——But theſe "wild and violent propoſals," which no one can recollect but the Governor, and perhaps his informers, it ſeems were "warded off" as the Governor is pleaſed to expreſs it; from whence it may be ſuppoſed, that prudence directed at this meeting, "originated and compoſed as (he ſays) it was"—— By theſe expreſſions it is conceived, he would intimate to his Lordſhip that it was both illegal and tumultuous; and if that was his real intention, the inſinuation was both falſe and injurious.—The meeting was "originated" as the law directs, and nothing was there concluded upon, according to the Governor's own account, but the appointment of a committee, which he himſelf ſays "in general was very reſpectable," to wait on him "with a petition;" the receiving his anſwer, as he is pleaſed to ſay,

with "universal approbation!" Writing a letter to a friend, and voting such instructions as they thought proper to their representatives. After which he tells his Lordship they "broke up *quietly*," and "the meeting ended." But notwithstanding this *quiet*, and as may be concluded by the Governor's account of it, *coalizing* Town meeting, which consisted of so large a number, and among whom he himself was so "popular," that even "the moderator declared that he really believed he was a well-wisher to the Province." (Thus saith Governor Bernard, but no one remembers or believes it) yet all this will not avail to soften his mind, or alter his intentions. And although he tells his Lordship, "the Romney and a sloop of 16 guns just come in will compleat the command of all the approaches to the Castle, and other ships of war are expected, so that the security of the Commissioners is effectually provided for;" yet the *favourite point* will not be carried, till the long-wished for troops arrive, to enforce his arbitrary designs, and suppress the spirit of liberty. And now is the Time, if ever, to press the matter; every hand therefore must be set to work, and nothing will serve the cause like continually holding up the idea of an *insurrection*. Accordingly, we find one of the auxiliaries, whose letter, tho' anonimous, has credit enough to appear in the list laid before Parliament, says, "It is *my* opinion, that

that the promoters of the preſent evils are ready to unmaſk, and openly to diſcover their long and latent deſign to REBEL"—— and——" involve this country in blood and horror!" Another anonimous writer, who is ſaid to be " well acquainted with the ſtate of the town of Boſton," ſays, that " he obſerves a ſourneſs in the minds of the people in *general*," and adds, " he that runs may read, that without *ſpeedy interpoſition*, a *great ſtorm* will ariſe."——The Collector and Comptroller of the Cuſtoms mention *with deep concern*, as they affect to expreſs themſelves, " that a *general ſpirit of* INSURRECTION prevails, not only in the Town, but throughout the *whole Provinces*."—— The Commiſſioners themſelves, in their letter to General Gage, tell him, " that it is utterly impoſſible to carry on the buſineſs of the revenue in the town of Boſton, from the outrageous behaviour of the people:" they acquaint the General " of the *alarming* ſtate of things in the Town, and deſire him to *give them protection*." And though Governor Bernard, when not ſo much on his guard, or perhaps under ſome little compunction of mind, in his letter to the Commiſſioners, June 13, gently chides them for their ill-grounded fears, and tells them, " he is *very ſorry* that they think themſelves ſo much in danger in Boſton (which he had before ſaid was no place of ſafety for them) as to think it unſafe for them

them to reſide there;" notwithſtanding all this, yet in the letter we are now conſidering, which was written nearly at the ſame time, he poſitively aſſures his Lordſhip, that, "if there is not a REVOLT, the leaders muſt falſify their words and change their purpoſes." Perhaps he would have been more conſiſtent if he had imagined theſe letters would ever have ſeen the light. He concludes his letter with mentioning a few more "papers ſtuck upon the Town-Houſe."——No evidence however appears to have accompanied all theſe heavy charges upon a whole community: but Governor Bernard and others ſeem to have conducted their proſcriptions as if they could have even foreſeen, that the bold aſſertions of perſons apparently inimical to a country, anonimous letters, ſtreet converſation picked up by pimps and ſpies, and papers ſtuck by no one knows whom on a public building, would be of ſo much weight as to influence the meaſures of adminiſtration! Can any perſon believe this is a juſt repreſentation, when Governor Bernard with all his induſtry and *aid* has not been able to furniſh proof, that any body or combination of men, or even a ſingle perſon, had incurred a legal penalty, if we except the diſturbances that happened on March and June already conſidered.

The Governor in his letter of the 9th of July informs his Lordſhip of a manœvre, as he calls it, of the ſons of liberty; a number

ber of them going out of Boſton at the cloſe of a certain day in parties, and meeting on each ſide of a houſe in Roxbury, which Mr. Robinſon (and his Lordſhip muſt be informed that he alſo was one of the Commiſſioners) had lately hired, with an intention to ſurprize him and prevent his eſcape; but he being at the caſtle, *where the Commiſſioners had been driven for ſafety*, they did nothing but plunder his fruit trees. This is a very ſolemn account indeed; but he never laid this "manœvre of the ſons of liberty," *extraordinary* as it was, before the Council, which he never failed to do on like occaſions; thinking poſſibly, that reſpectable body might be of opinion, that a gentleman of any political party may be ſuppoſed to have had his orchard or fruit gardens robbed by *liquoriſh boys*, without making a formal repreſentation before his Majeſty's firſt miniſters of ſtate. As the Governor will ſtill have it that the Commiſſioners were "*driven* to the caſtle *for ſafety*," we take occaſion to obſerve here, that it was notorious, that they frequently landed on the main, and made excurſions into the country; viſiting the Lieutenant-Governor and other gentlemen at their ſeats, where it would have been eaſy to have ſeized them if any injury had been intended them; which as his Majeſty's Council very juſtly have obſerved, "demonſtrated the inſincerity of their declarations,"

declarations," as it did thoſe of the Governor, " that they immured themſelves at the caſtle for ſafety."

Another part of the detail in this letter is the reſcue of a veſſel which had been ſeized by the Cuſtom-houſe officers. It ſeems by Governor Bernard's account, it had been " thought proper to try an experiment;" for ſays he, " when the ſloop was ſeized which occaſioned the riot, and in conſequence of which the Commiſſioners were obliged to leave the town, the greateſt part of the reſentment was expreſſed againſt the putting her under the care of the man of war;" which was very true, and he might have alſo ſaid, the making the ſeizure with an *armed* force, and therefore, he adds, " when this ſchooner was ſeized, it was left at the wharf, under no other care but two Cuſtom-houſe officers," in hopeful, no doubt, if not certain expectation that the reſcue would be made, from whence it might poſſibly be made to appear, that the reſentment againſt the proceedings of the Cuſtom-houſe officers in the former inſtance, as being violent and illegal, was mere pretence. The reſcue was made, and it was univerſally diſpleaſing to the town. The Governor ſays, " this very molaſſes was the next day returned," and tells his Lordſhip, that " the ſelectmen of the town ſent for the maſter of the ſchooner," and " ordered him to return it,

under

under pain of the diſpleaſure of the town;" which is a groſs miſrepreſentation of the matter, and artfully deſigned to prepare for the ſubſequent ungenerous remark, that "all Government is now in the hands of the people." A good magiſtrate would have rejoiced in this inſtance of the people's voluntarily affording their aid in the recovery of the King's Due, which had been reſcued from him, without torturing his invention to find an ill-natured conſtruction for it; but Gov. Bernard is diſturbed that "the humour of the people," which he ſays this was done "to pleaſe," ſhould ever coincide with their duty to their Sovereign—The voluntary aſſociation of the people to promote peace and good order, he had before ſaid "carried an implication of danger" to the Government; and now, when they ſeem to unite in taking meaſures for the execution of a law, altho' in its nature diſagreeable to the people, why truly "the Government is in the hands of the people, and not of thoſe deputed by the King, or under his Authority." But if the people had a view to ſave their own reputation in this piece of ſervice to the Crown, as the Governor intimates, ſurely he will not ſay it was "ill-judged" or "ill-timed." The truth is, they had a *particular* view at this time to prevent Governor Bernard's improving this reſcue, which they were in no ſort concerned in, to the prejudice of the

town, as had been his conſtant practice in other caſes, and as it now evidently appears he intended: and it was certainly a wiſe precaution; tho' a candid mind will by no means exclude any other *good* intentions.— We cannot forbear taking notice here with *freedom*, of a very extraordinary aſſertion of Governor Bernard, in this letter to his Lordſhip, that " every ſeizure made, or attempted to be made on land at Boſton for theſe three years paſt, before theſe two inſtances, had been violently reſcued or prevented."—An aſſertion ſo notoriouſly falſe, that few men could have made it without bluſhing; and we may ſuppoſe even Governor Bernard himſelf would not have made it, had he apprehended it would ever have become public.*— The officers of the cuſtoms themſelves will not venture to affirm it. If the aſſertion is true, his Majeſty's Council muſt have been egregiouſly miſtaken when they declare, that " no inſtance can be alledged of any veſſel ſeized

* *It is remarkable that Governor Bernard, not long before theſe letters were made public, expreſſed to a certain gentleman, his earneſt wiſh, that the people of this Province could have a ſight of all his letters to the Miniſtry, being aſſured that they would thereby be fully convinced that he was a friend to the Province-- Indeed he made a declaration to the ſame purpoſe, in one of his public ſpeeches to the Houſe of Repreſentatives. Upon the Arrival of the letters however, he diſcovered, as ſome ſay, a certain Paleneſs, and complained of as an hardſhip that his letters, wrote* in confidence, *ſhould be expoſed to the view of the Public.--- A ſtriking proof of the Baſeneſs, as well as the Perfidy of his heart!*

or

or any ſeizure whatever in the town of Boſton being reſcued out of the hands of the officers, except what took place here on the 8th of July inſtant, when a quantity of molaſſes (this very molaſſes) having been ſeized, was taken away from the officers who had charge of it; which unwarrantable proceeding being univerſally condemned, the molaſſes was very ſoon returned." As this baſe ſtory was *invented* and told by Gov. Bernard, with the ſole intention of caſting an odium upon the town, we have reaſon to expect his retractation of it; or he muſt bear the reproaches of an highly injured community, and the juſt cenſures of all impartial men. After theſe falſe and injurious aſſertions, he thinks it a proper time to acquaint his Lordſhip, that the one regiment which he had the flattering expectation of, from a letter he had received from General Gage, "tho' it might ſecure the caſtle, would not be ſufficient to *awe the town*;" which was in effect aſking for *more*. Thus we ſee the means which Governor Bernard and his confederates have been inceſſantly uſing to accompliſh their deſigns; and ſtrange as it may in ſome better times hereafter appear, theſe means and theſe very inſtruments at length prevailed to introduce a military power into this town—A power which is daily trampling on our laws, contemning our religion, and invading the rights both

of perſons and property—A power by which a truly loyal but long abuſed and highly provoked community, is, not indeed *awed*, but diſtreſſed—And were it not for the certain advice that our humble and dutiful ſupplications have at length reached the royal hand, we ſhould be reduced even to a ſtate of deſperation!

Governor Bernard in his letter to Lord Hillſborough of the 16th of September, begins with acquainting his Lordſhip with the *prudent* methods he took, to communicate the expectation of the troops *gradually*, for fear of certain ill effects that might ariſe from their ſudden arrival. And no wonder that the man who had long been repreſenting a whole country as *rebels*; and had been *one* of the *principal* inſtruments in bringing ſuch a curſe upon it, ſhould at that juncture be under ſome apprehenſions of danger. In his laſt letter he talks of his *perſonal courage*, and tells Lord Hillſborough, that "he did not feel his own *firmneſs of mind* to fail:" he alſo mentions "the *ſpirited conduct* of the Lieutenant-Governor; and with pleaſure aſſures his Lordſhip, that "he could depend upon *his* reſolution and ſteadineſs as much as he could upon *his own*;" from whence he concludes, that "there would be no want of a *due* enforcement of the laws to the correction of the preſent abuſes:"—But *now* he ſeems to be conſcious of fear!—Happy was it for him, that he

was

was in the hands of a people; who attended to the dictates of ſound policy, religion and loyalty—He firſt opens this matter to one of the Council, and tells him, that "he had private advice that troops were ordered hither, but that he had no publick orders about it himſelf;" and he obſerves, that "it quickly was very thoroughly circulated all over the town," and the *faction* immediately took the alarm." By this he would inſinuate that the better ſort of the people, and even the generality of the town, were well enough pleaſed with it. If the faction *only* took the alarm, the generality of the town muſt have been included in the faction: for in truth, he had the mortification of ſeeing the whole body of the people, ſaving his own very few adherents, who were properly an *implacable faction*, thoroughly awakened and alarmed at the ſudden expectation of a military force, which had indeed been often threatned by this faction, but few realized it before—And now the pimps were all immediately ſent out, who no doubt were rewarded in proportion to their ſucceſs in the buſineſs; and the Governor ſoon had intelligence brought to him of the converſation of "*private companies:*" and that in one "it was the general opinion to raiſe the country and oppoſe the troops;" in another "it was reſolved to ſurprize and take the caſtle." How ridiculouſly impertinent muſt he appear in the eyes of men

men of ſenſe, after all to acquaint his Lordſhip, that " he does not relate theſe accounts as *certain* facts." To what purpoſe then did he relate them at all! It ſeems that he was full as *deſigning*, in communicating to Lord Hillſborough, as he was in communicating to the people, tho' his deſigns were different: for the people were not to be told the *whole* that the Governor knew to be true; but his Lordſhip was to be induced to believe *more*:— In either caſe if the purpoſe could be ſerved, ſincerity was out of the queſtion. Uncertain however as theſe facts were, his Lordſhip is informed, that they were yet " believed!" Strange, as they were ſaid to be facts of yeſterday, that no one, after all the pains that had been taken, could make them *certain*; and if they were not to be made certain, ſtranger ſtill that any in their ſenſes ſhould *believe* them.—Some men are very apt to believe that which they *wiſh* were true: this no doubt is the preſent caſe.—And beſides, we are to remember, that more than two regiments were wanted to *awe the town*; and if the Governor could boldly ſay, that theſe reports, vague as they were, had obtained *any* credit here, no matter *by whom* believed, they would have ſome weight. But he muſt be preſumed to think very *injudiciouſly* of the head or the heart of a *Miniſter of State*, to ſuppoſe that ſuch an undigeſted and ridiculous account of things

would

would influence *his* meaſures. Nothing, we ſhould think, but the great candor which has ever appeared in Lord Hillſborough towards Governor Bernard, could have prevented his ſevereſt cenſure.—But admitting they were true, which was by no means the caſe, certainly the town is not accountable for what one of his Excellencies ſpies might have overheard in a " private company."—Let us then conſider the account the Governor gives of the *public* conduct of the town, at a meeting legally called on Monday, September 12. And firſt he ſays, " at the hall the faction appeared ſurrounded with all its forces ;" and an appearance very *decent* at leaſt, it ſeems, they were capable of making according to the Governor's account. For he tells his Lordſhip, " a ſet of ſpeeches by the chiefs of the faction, and *no one elſe*, followed in ſuch *order* and *method*, that every thing both as to *matter* and *order*, ſeemed to have been preconcerted ;" while alas ! the " very few principal Gentlemen there," the better ſort in the Governor's eſtimation, appeared " as curious, perhaps *anxious* ſpectators !" Where is now the little remains of an *expiring faction*, which he had ſo often told the world of ? the tone is wonderfully altered ; the body of the people are now *truly* repreſented as united firm and *regular* in their oppoſition to his meaſures, while his own *few partizans*, who yet muſt be ſtiled " *the principal gentlemen*,"

though

though expecting every moment to be "ſurrounded with all *their* forces," appeared inquiſitive and *anxious* for the event! But nothing was reſolved upon, ſays the Governor, but to put two queſtions to me, and appoint a general committee to conſider and report." The main queſtion to the Governor was. Whether he had certain expectation of the troops? To which he anſwered with an artful ambiguity, that he had private advice, but no publick orders about it. His private advice might have been *certain*; or he might have had *authentick* publick advice without public orders about it, for General Gage was commander in chief of the King's forces. Being however ſomewhat preſſed by the committee who waited on him, he diſcovered a duplicity for which he has a peculiar talent, and ſaid, that he would not have the town *certainly* expect the troops; although he then expected them himſelf, and fully believed they were on their paſſage from Halifax; and in this letter to Lord Hillſborough he tells him, that it was at that very time his intention to communicate theſe expectations of them *gradually* —— His account of divers ſpeeches made in the town meeting is as uncertain, and with regard to ſome of them, as untrue, as the intelligence he had received, of the *private converſation*: perhaps it was carried to him by the ſame hands, as ſome of *his* principal gentlemen were there.

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The reſolves and determinations of this meeting, as the Governor ſays, were publiſhed to the world; and they remain on the records of the town that poſterity may judge of them. The town has ſeen no reaſon ſince to revoke theſe reſolves, notwithſtanding they have been ſentenced as "very dangerous reſolves, procured by mad people," by ſo exquiſite a judge, in matters which regard *civil* Government, as well as ſo polite a gentleman as General Gage. The Governor himſelf has been ſince reſpectfully requeſted by the ſelectmen, in behalf of the town, to ſhew in what reſpect the reſolves and proceedings of this very meeting had militated with law; but he declined it: and we believe he declined it, becauſe he was not able to do it. Spirited indeed they were, but not too ſpirited for the times.—When the conſtitution is *threatened*, the principles of the conſtitution muſt, if ever, be aſſerted and ſupported—The Governor indeed takes notice of our claim to a certain clauſe in the bill of rights as "a large ſtride:" but as we are free Britiſh ſubjects, we claim all that ſecurity againſt arbitrary power, to which we are entitled by the law of God and nature, as well as the Britiſh conſtitution. And if a ſtanding army may not be poſted upon the ſubjects in one part of the empire, in a time of peace, without their conſent, there can be no reaſon why it ſhould in any other; for

all Britiſh ſubjects are or *ought to be* alike free.---

The Governor in a former letter to Lord Hillſborough mentioned, the ſelectmens ordering the arms belonging to the town to be brought out and cleaned; and to make ſomething of the ſtory, he told him that "they were expoſed ſome hours at the town houſe;" in this letter he ſays "theſe arms were depoſited in cheſts, and laid upon the floor of the town hall to *remind the people of the uſe of them.*" Could any one beſides Governor Bernard, deſcend to ſo pitiful an artifice as to inſinuate that theſe arms were cleaned, expoſed to the people, and finally laid on the floor of the hall at this juncture, to induce his Lordſhip to believe, that *theſe* were the forces with which the faction appeared "ſurrounded," and that the ſelectmen who are the principal City Magiſtrates, and the leading part of the town itſelf, were actually in the plan which he had juſt before mentioned, as concerted in one of the private meetings, "to raiſe the country and oppoſe the troops:" and that theſe arms depoſited in cheſts were laid on the floor of the hall, to "remind the people of the uſe of them," and inſpirit them for the purpoſe of oppoſing the troops. Whereas the ſimple truth of the matter is, theſe arms had for many years been depoſited in cheſts and laid on the floor of the town hall; but the hall itſelf being burnt a few years ago, the

the arms were ſaved from the ruins and carried to the town houſe: after the hall was re-built, the town ordered their removal there; and tho' it happened to be done at a juncture when the Governor and his confederates talked much of the town's *revolting*, there was no other thought in the minds of any, except the Governor and a few more, and it is a queſtion whether even he, or they, really thought otherwiſe, but to lodge them in their proper and *uſual* place.

We cannot help taking notice how very exact the Governor ſometimes is even in the choice of words, in his "detail of facts" to a Miniſter of ſtate: an inſtance of which we have now before us, wherein he mentions to his Lordſhip his incloſing "a blank copy of the *precept* (as he is pleaſed to call it) which the ſelectmen have uſed," it is a wonder it was not *iſſued*, for that would have made it appear more *formal*, "in calling together the convention;" from whence he takes occaſion to ſay, it was "a daring aſſumption of the royal authority." Here then is the treaſon and miſpriſion of treaſon, or a part of it leaſt, about which there has been ſuch an eclat of late; for which the Governor tells his Lordſhip in his *detail* of the convention, every well-wiſher of the Province, of whom he is doubtleſs one, "moſt devoutly deſires the charter may be forfeited"--And ſome of the leaders were

to be ſent to England to be tried there.—Nay, his Lordſhip, or ſome one of his Majeſty's Servants is informed that they expected it themſelves; for Commodore Hood in one of his ſhort and *pithy* Epiſtles, ſays, "they were alarmed, and expected nothing leſs than a voyage to England againſt their inclinations."—But his Lordſhip's *deep* penetration might have diſcovered that this "precept to call a convention", was nothing more than a *friendly circular letter* to the ſelectmen of the ſeveral towns in the Province, *deſiring* them to *propoſe* to their reſpective towns the ſending Committees, to join with thoſe of the town of Boſton, in conſulting meaſures to promote peace and good order: which was ſo far from an aſſumption of the royal authority, that it aſſumed not the leaſt ſhadow of any *authority* whatever—This very innocent meaſure of the town in "calling together a convention", as the Governor expreſſes it, which he ſo highly cenſures, and upon the promoters of which he loudly calls for the national vengeance, was moſt certainly attended with all the happy effects for which it was propoſed: for the general ſentiments of the Province were thereby collected, which could not otherwiſe have been done; the Governor having arbitrarily diſſolved the General Aſſembly, and poſitively refuſed to call another, againſt the dutiful petition of the convention itſelf, as well as

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of the town, even before they propoſed or thought of it—The ſeveral towns having the opportunity of conferring together by their Committees, had the ſame effects which followed a certain *circular letter* which formerly ſo perplexed his Excellency; for the people became the more united in the meaſures proper to be taken for the preſervation of their common rights at ſo critical and alarming a juncture. And tho' the Governor ſays "at the fountain head it was intended to provoke reſentment," yet to this very meaſure has been imputed, in ſome ſmall degree at leaſt, whether juſtly or not, it becomes not this town to ſay, that *prudence* as well as firmneſs and perſeverance in the cauſe of liberty, of which it is hoped this country will forever avail itſelf. Even Governor Bernard cannot but own, that the convention diſcovered "moderation" and "a temperate conduct," which is far from being inconſiſtent with *true fortitude:* but he is not willing that the town of Boſton ſhould "*aſſume* the merit of it." They are very far from a diſpoſition thus to aſſume; they are content to have that ſhare of merit which their beloved countrymen are willing they ſhould have. And tho' he would inſinuate to his Lordſhip with his uſual cunning, that there was at the convention an *eſſential* difference of ſentiments between the town and the country; and that "many of *the deputies* came

came down with a diſpoſition and inſtructions to prevent the Boſtoners (as he elegantly expreſſes himſelf) involving the province in the conſequences of their own mad devices;" and that many of them " were from the beginning ſenſible of the impropriety and danger of this proceeding;") his Lordſhip, as " they printed what they did," has no doubt been ſince convinced, that they were *united* in their ſentiments of the common cauſe.

But this very peaceable propoſal, the Governor thinks, exceeded the " Great Rebellion when it was at the higheſt, and the confuſion ariſing therefrom moſt urgent for ſome extraordinary meaſures." Here is the burden of the ſong—*extraordinary meaſures!* And ſurely his Lordſhip muſt propoſe ſome *very extraordinary* meaſures to chaſtiſe a *greater* than the Great Rebellion, even when it was at the higheſt.—Not content with pouring forth this torrent of zeal, the Governor ſtill preſſes upon his Lordſhip; and aſſures him, that " unleſs it is prevented by ſome power from without, not only the Crown officers will be excluded," but " every ingredient of royalty" in the Government of the province will be totally deſtroyed—— What rhetorick! to arreſt his Lordſhip's attention, and hurry him on to conclude with the Governor, that " the force already ordered by General Gage, viz. two regiments, will not be ſufficient."——In order ſtill to heighten

heighten the ideas of an intended rebellion, the Governor adds, "it is now a great queſtion whether the King's troops will be ſuffered to enter the town or not." And "the deſign againſt the caſtle is now ſo well known, that it is probable that the very names of the people who were enrolled for that ſervice to the number of five hundred, or of the chiefs of them will be diſcovered." It is pretty remarkable, the Governor in the former part of this letter informed his Lordſhip, that he did not relate *this very* account as a certain fact; his ſpies muſt then make very quick rotations, and the intelligence flow in very faſt, to be ſo well aſſured of it before he concluded; or the Governor muſt be ſo unfortunate, perhaps not having time in the multiplicity of his affairs, to keep a regular *Diary*, as to forget what he had wrote, and as we every now and then find it happens, in the "*overflowings*" of his zeal, to be inconſiſtent with himſelf.

It would be an endleſs taſk to take particular notice of every falſe and injurious repreſentation contained in theſe voluminous letters."* No one can read them without being

* Indeed it might be ſaid, *the whole World would not contain* all the remarks that might be juſtly made upon them. One inſtance however ſeems to have been overlooked by the Town; and as it is an inſtance of importance, it is hoped, its being noticed in the margin, will not be thought amiſs. The Governor, after having prevailed upon the Council, at a very *thin* Board, and by the majority of *one* out of only *eleven* gentlemen preſent, to adviſe to the clearing the Manufactory-houſe in Boſton, for the reception

being aſtoniſhed, at ſeeing a perſon in ſo important a department as Governor Bernard

tion of a part of the two Iriſh regiments then expected; in his letter to Lord Hillſborough of Nov. 1ſt, he gives him an account of the ſteps he had ordered for *the removal of the families* out of the houſe. And it ſeems, that the Governor, by a power which he had *aſſumed*, appointed the Sheriff and two of his deputies, Bailiffs for the Governor and Council, for the purpoſe: theſe families, however, refuſed to ſubmit to *ſuch* authority, even though the Chief Juſtice himſelf *condeſcended* to go with the Sheriff, and *adviſed* them to give up the houſe. The Sheriff, upon the third attempt ſays the Governor, "finding the window open, entered; upon which the people gathered about him and ſhut him up; he then *made a ſignal*, to an officer who was without, who *brought a party of ſoldiers*, who took poſſeſſion of the yard of the building, and relieved the Sheriff from his confinement"—This is the Governor's account of the matter; but others give a very different account of it, and ſay that the Sheriff attempted a *forceable* entry, and was reſiſted by the people within the houſe; and by them *only:* certain it is, that one of them commenced an action of treſpaſs againſt the Sheriff; but what became of the action the records of the court of Common Pleas will beſt ſhow: it is alſo certain that an officer, a *Military* officer, who was without and *at hand*; and upon a ſignal from the ſheriff, brought a party of ſoldiers, the whole regiment being then encamped in ſight on the Common; and the *ſoldiers* (not the inhabitants as the Governor aſſerts) "kept the houſe blockaded all that day and beſt part of the next." It is further certain, and it may be atteſted by the oaths of divers perſons of credit, that offers were made to the Sheriff, of ſufficient aid in the *legal* execution of his office, if he would diſmiſs the troops; illegal ſteps being at the ſame time excepted againſt.—— Great numbers of people during *the ſiege*, as it may be properly called, were collected in the ſtreet, which is as ſpacious as in any part of the Town, but the Governor owns they did no miſchief: he indeed repreſents it in his uſual manner, as a GREAT MOB *aſſembled with ſome of the chiefs of the faction*, intimating thereby, as in his former letters, "an intended inſurrection:" the General on the other hand ſays, the matter "occaſioned a *little diſturbance* of no conſequence;" but takes care to add, that "it ſerved to ſhow a moſt obſti-

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hard ſuſtained, deſcending in his letters to a Miniſter of ſtate, to ſuch trifling circumſtances, and ſuch ſlanderous *chit-chat*: boaſt-

nate ſpirit of oppoſition to every *meaſure* of Government." The Governor further ſays, the inhabitants "were very abuſive to the ſoldiers."—The contrary is moſt certainly and *notoriouſly* true. He ſays alſo, that "the ſoldiers were withdrawn on the evening of the ſecond day:" ſo far is this from truth, that the guard of ſoldiers, to whoſe cuſtody the Sheriff committed the cellar of the houſe, which he had got the poſſeſſion of, kept their poſt a *much longer* time; and application was made, to divers of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace, for their removal, *by the force of law*, near *three weeks* after. And again the Governor ſays, that "this building was kept filled with the outcaſt of the Workhouſe, to prevent its being uſed for the accommodation of the King's troops;" which is contradicted by *the oaths* of all the overſeers of the poor, who muſt have known it if it had been true, for the care and government of the Workhouſe is by law veſted in them. The truth is, the people gathered upon this extraordinary occaſion, but were very peaceable; ſome few it may be to carry intelligence to the Governor, but by far the greater part, from a juſt abhorrence of this *meaſure* of *Government*, to borrow the general expreſſion, and an anxiety for the event of this *firſt open and avowed* effort of *Military* TYRANNY! The Governor declares, that the Council, who were alarmed at the violence of this proceeding, muſt have known that the entry "could not have been made without *force*;" and he ſufficiently explains what *ſort of force* he meant, in the reaſon he gives, why the ſoldiers were withdrawn for that time, which was, becauſe "the building was not immediately wanted," the Iriſh regiments, for whom it was deſigned, as was *pretended*, not being yet arrived.——Perhaps the Governor gives this *circumſtantial* account to his Lordſhip to confirm what he had before ſaid, that "two regiments were not ſufficient to AWE THE TOWN!——This attack upon the ſecurity of people's *dwelling-houſes*, was as *violent* as has ever been known even under the moſt *deſpotick* Governments, tho' happily it proved unſucceſsful. This is one of the *bright glories* of BERNARD'S adminiſtration: *he*, who with ſo much *readineſs* and exact *propriety* afforded the aid of his *advice*, and PREJUDG'D the matter, claims, however, his ſhare in the annals of fame.——

ing, as he does in one of his letters, of his *over-reaching* thoſe with whom he was tranſacting publick buſineſs; and in order to prejudice the moſt reſpectable bodies, meanly *filching* from individuals belonging to thoſe bodies, what had been dropped in the courſe of buſineſs or debate: journalizing every idle report brought to him, and in ſhort acting the part of a pimp rather than a Governor.—As theſe letters, being now made public, will be a monument of diſgrace *to him*, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that any honor can be derived from them, to thoſe great men to whom they were addreſſed.

Notwithſtanding the town have been obliged in juſtice to themſelves, to ſay thus much in their own vindication, we ſhould yet be glad, that the ancient and happy union between Great-Britain and this country, which Governor Bernard has ſo induſtriouſly laboured to interrupt, might be reſtored. Some have indeed flattered themſelves with the proſpect of it; as intelligence is ſaid to have been received from adminiſtration, that *all* the revenue acts would be repealed: but as it ſince appears by Lord Hillſborough's own account, that nothing more is intended, than the taking off the duties on paper, glaſs, and Painter's colours, upon commercial principles only; if that is all, it will not give ſatisfaction: it will not even relieve the trade from the burdens it labours under; much leſs will it remove the grounds

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of diſcontent, which runs through the continent, upon much higher principles. Their rights are invaded by theſe acts; therefore untill they are *all* repealed, the *cauſe* of their juſt complaints cannot be removed; In ſhort, the grievances which lie heavily upon us, we ſhall never think redreſſed, till *every act*, paſſed by the Britiſh Parliament for the expreſs purpoſe of raiſing a revenue upon us without our conſent, is repealed; till the American board of Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms is diſſolved; the troops recalled, and things are reſtored to the ſtate they were in before the late extraordinary meaſures of adminiſtration took place.

Beſides theſe letters of Governor Bernard, we find others written by General Gage, and Commodore Hood. And we cannot but obſerve, that although both theſe gentlemen were perfect ſtrangers in the town, they have yet taken ſuch extraordinary freedoms, and the general in particular has wrote in ſuch a poſitive ſtrain, as muſt unavoidably give high diſguſt to every reader of candor and impartiality.——If theſe gentlemen received the character of the town, or of any of its individuals, from Governor Bernard, as we are ready to think they did, they muſt have been long before convinced, if they knew any thing at all of the ſtate of the town, that the Governor was too deeply intereſted in *miſrepreſenting*, to be credited

in a point of that importance; and therefore common juſtice would have dictated a ſuſpenſion of their publick teſtimony to the prejudice of a community, till they could have had the opportunity of doing it upon impartial enquiry, or *their own* obſervation—The General ſeems to have early imbibed ſome ſort of prejudice againſt a town, that had been before prejudiced in *his* favour: for the Governor in one of his letters to Lord Hillſborough acquaints him, that the General "had ſent Capt. Montreſor from New-York, to aſſiſt the forces as *Engineer*, and enable them to RECOVER and maintain the caſtle, and ſuch other poſts as they could ſecure," upon intelligence that the people in and about Boſton had *revolted*. Now even the Gov. himſelf declares this to be a miſtake, and ſays that things were not quite "ſo bad as that came to."—As there are two conſtant and regular poſts between this town and New-York, each of which carries intelligence from the one to the other in the courſe of a week; and more eſpecially as he might reaſonably expect authentick accounts of a matter of ſuch *importance*, by expreſs in a ſhorter time; it is ſtrange, if the General's mind was unbiaſſed, that he ſhould ſo ſtrongly rely upon private advice, as to form his meaſures from them, which the Governor aſſerts.—It was a meaſure of importance, as it iſſued, to the town: for Col. Dalrymple who had

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the command of the regiments, from *the authority of theſe new orders*, as the Governor declares, tho't proper to alter the plan, which was to land only one, and landed *both* the regiments in Boſton without loſs of time. Perhaps it was under the impreſſion of theſe *private advices*, and "the narrative of the proceedings of the town-meeting," which the Governor alſo mentions as influential on the General's meaſures, and which poſſibly was a narrative of the Governor's *own writing*, that ſo wrought upon the General's imagination, as to induce him to give his opinion to his Lordſhip, that the "intentions of the town were ſuſpicious, and that he was happy the troops from Halifax arrived at the time they did!" Theſe and many ſuch like *unprovoked* expreſſions are to be found in the letters of both theſe gentlemen, and eſpecially the General's; but as they partake of a full portion of the ſpirit of Governor Bernard's, and as the ſenſe of this Province fully appears in the late ſpirited reſolves of the houſe of repreſentatives, we ſhall avoid troubling the publick with particular remarks upon them, and to borrow an expreſſion of *great authority*, "treat them with the contempt they deſerve."

The Town of BOSTON, *at their Meeting beforementioned, came into the following Reſolutions,* viz.

RESOLVED, that the letters and memorials of Governor Bernard and the Commiſſioners of the cuſtoms in America, tranſmitted by them reſpectively to his Majeſty's Miniſters, and laid before the Parliament of Great-Britain, authentick copies of which are now before this town; had a tendency to deceive the Miniſtry, and lead them unavoidably to miſinform his Majeſty, with regard to the affections and Loyalty of his American Subjects in general: and that the ſaid Governor Bernard and the Commiſſioners have particularly, in their letters and memorials before-mentioned, diſcovered an implacable enmity to this town, and the moſt virulent endeavours to traduce it even to his Majeſty himſelf; by means whereof the inhabitants very ſenſibly feel the diſpleaſure of their Gracious Sovereign.—

RESOLVED, that this town have reaſon to rejoice in the meaſure taken by the honorable houſe of Repreſentatives, in the laſt ſeſſion of the General Aſſembly; by ſo ſeaſonably preferring their dutiful and loyal petition to his Majeſty, for the removal of Governor Bernard *for ever* from the Government

ment of this Province: and the town take this opportunity to expreſs their moſt ardent wiſh, that the prayer of ſaid petition to his Majeſty may be graciouſly heard and granted.

RESOLVED, that General Gage and Commodore Hood in their ſeveral letters to his Majeſty's Miniſters and ſervants, authentick copies of which are now before this town, have diſcovered an unreaſonable prejudice againſt the town. And the General in particular, in declaring in his letter to the right Hon. the Earl of Hillſborough, one of his Majeſty's Secretaries of State, that "*in truth there was very little Government in Boſton*; and in making uſe of other expreſſions *alike ſevere* has done great injuſtice to the town, and an irreparable injury. And it is moreover the opinion of the town, that the *readineſs* he has diſcovered to receive unfavorable impreſſions of it, and the publick teſtimony he was prevailed upon to bear againſt it, before he could have time to make an impartial enquiry, betrayed a want of *candor* unbecoming his ſtation and character.

RESOLVED, that many of the letters and memorials aforeſaid are falſe, ſcandalous, and infamous libels upon the inhabitants of this Town, Province and Continent, of the moſt virulent and malicious, as well as dangerous and pernicious tendency: and that

that the ſelectmen be and hereby are directed to apply and complain to proper authority, that the wicked authors of thoſe incendiary libels, may be proceeded with according to law, and brought to condign puniſhment.

FINIS.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM